l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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to comprehend the meaning, and not knowing whether the answer is favourable or unfavourable, their proceedings are necessarily suspended until they can discover its true sense; in this manner have operations been sometimes entirely prevented, and matters have remained in the same situation that they were in before. 648

It may be supposed, perhaps, that such an artful manner of treating each other might be thought provoking, and cause jealousies and disputes among the different parties; such is not, however, the case, as nothing insulting is ever contained in those messages; and as offence is not meant, it is not taken. The Indians consider it on all sides as a kind of diplomatic proceeding, an exercise which tends to invigorate the mind, of which they are very fond. It gives them opportunities to reflect and think deeply on matters of importance, and of displaying their genius, when they have found or discovered the secret of an answer sent to them, or hit upon the true meaning of an ambiguous message.

At the time of the Revolutionary war I witnessed a curious scene of diplomatic manœuvres between two great men of the Delaware nation, both of whom had in their time signalised themselves as brave and courageous men, and had acquired the character of two great war chiefs. The war that I speak of, which had but lately begun, had made it necessary for the Indians to consult their present and future safety. Captain White Eyes, of the Turtle tribe, who was placed at the head of his nation, had its welfare much at heart. He was in favour of their following the advice given them by the American Congress, which was to remain neutral, and not to meddle in the quarrel between the Americans and the parent country. He advised his people, therefore, to remain in friendship with both sides, and not to take up arms against either, as it might bring them into trouble, and perhaps, in the end, effect their ruin. 662 648 [643]

On the other hand, Captain Pipe, of the Wolf tribe,

202.	Other relatives observe mourning ___ days	90-365				•	12	0	365	4	4	3-4		
203.	Dread the approach of death	+			+	+	+	S	+	−	−	+		
204.	Die in full possesion of faculties (generally)						−	+	+	+	•	•		
205.	Take leave of friends						S	+	+	+	S	+		
206.*	Believe bodies will be restored						+	•+	•+	−	−	−		
207.	Disposition of property—to nearest kin †				−			•	+	+	+	+		
208.	to others †				+	+	+	•		+		+		
Lineage														
209.	Nation divided into ___ tribes †				3	3	3	3	8	3	3	3		
210.	Division for purposes of government				−		+	+	−	+	+	−		
211.	On religious grounds				−		•	+	+•	−		•		
212.	Attended by good effect						+	+	•	+				
213.	Tribes are exogamous				+	+				•				
214.	Tribes are endogamous										+			
215.	Matrilineal descent		+		+	+		+		+	(+)	+		
Chiefs														
216.	Civil chieftainship hereditary		−	(+)	−		−	•+	−	−(+)		−		
217.	Son succeeds		−	(+)	−		−	−	−	−	(+)	−		
218.	Brother first choice		−		−		+	+	−	−	(+)	−		
219.	Nephew (sister's son) next		−		+		+	+	−	−	(+)	−		
220.	Woman could be				−		−	−	−	−	−	−		
221.	Election of civil chief		+	−	+		+	•+	•+	+	−	+		
222.	By people		+		−		−	−	−	+	+	+		
223.	By counselors				•+		+	+	+	+	+	+		
224.	Installed by other tribes				+		•	•	(+)	~	−	−		
225.	Can be removed				+		+	•+	+	+	−	+		
226.	Chief names successor			−					+	+	−	•		
227.	Can dismiss successor								+	+	−	+		
228.	Any particular age at succesion †						−		+	+	+	−		
229.	Both civil and war chiefs				+		+	+	+	+	+	+		
230.	Number of civil chiefs per tribe						1	1	2	1	1	1		
231.	Number of war chiefs per tribe						1	1	1	1	1	1		
232.	Boundary between civil and war chiefs		+		+		+	•+	+	+	+	+		
233.	Civil chief has authority superior to war chief in peace	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+		
234.	Stops on declaration of war		+				+	+	+	+				
235.	War chief hereditary				−									
236.	War chief elected				−			+				−		

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+ = element present
— = element denied
(+) or (—) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippe	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Chiefs—Continued												
237. War chief chosen through vision power				+	+		+		+	+	+	+
238. Body of counselors †	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
239. Name *upwaenowuk							+	(+)	+	+	•	+
240. Chosen by people						+	+	•	+	+	+	+
241. Consider all matters of importance to tribe		+		+	+	+	+	+	§	§	§	§
242. Counselors and chiefs only present at council meetings		§		§	§	+	+	+	§	§	§	§
243. All adults except women admitted				§				+	+	§	§	§
Justice												
244. Any mode of compelling payment of debt				+		—	—	—	—	—	—	—
245. Relatives of debtor make restitution				+	+		§		+		+	+
246. Creditor uses force							§	+	•+		+	—
247. Redress for civil injuries (theft)	•+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	+	—	+	+
248. Injured party applies to chief		+			—		+		+		+	+
249. Any punishment inflicted by nation if restitution is made		—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
250. Injured party has right to kill thief on second offense		—			+			+	+		+	+
251. Murder punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252. By nation	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	•	—	+
253. Breach closed by presents		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+
254. Amount of wampum as presents †				+	•	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
255. Lacking presents, revenge by relatives	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
256. Revenge duty of any individual		•+			—	—	—	—	•+	—	—	•+
257. Any one interfere from duty		•+				—	•	—	—	•	•	•
258. Guilty submits	+	•—				+	+	+	+	+	•	§
259. Feud arise from revenge		•+					—	—	—	—	•	—
260. Revenge approved by nation	+		+	+		+			+	+	+	+
261. Crimes. Theft	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262. Rape		+					+			+		
263. Adultery	+	+		+			+	+	+	+	•	+
264. Desertion of children								+	+	(+)	+	
265. Drunkenness and slander	+							+	+	(+)		

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619 Delawares because they resided at a place of that name; and *Woonalāāhtekoo* is the name of one of the twelve divisions just mentioned. (One of the four divisions of the Wolf tribe.) Mr. H. made a similar mistake when he distinguished the Munsees as one of the tribes of the Delaware nation. There are descendants of each of the three tribes among them as well as among the Delawares themselves.

. . . . . .

"They know nothing of a nation of Taleekāāee, Aleekāāee or Allegewi, of which Mr. Heckewelder speaks as the possessors of the country east of the Mississippi before the arrival of the Delawares. But Pipe says that one of the twelve tribes of the Delawares, before mentioned, was called Aleekāāee, and that they resided on the Allegheny River. That when he was a boy he saw one of their men at the house of his father, at or near Cape Girardeau and that his father pointed him out to Pipe as one of the Aleekāāee, but at that time they were but very few, and are supposed to be now extinct."

[184] It should be noted in connection with the divisions of the tribe or the tribal divisions of the nation that they have frequently been rated according to their importance. Captain Chipps said that the Wolf tribe was the first. Zeisberger said Turtle was first.[1] Among the modern Delaware the tribe placed first depended upon the tribal affinity of the informant: a Wolf always placed his tribe first and a Turtle placed the Turtle tribe first. Informants of these two groups named the other one second, and Turkey last. I was not able to find a Turkey informant.

Chiefs

● 643 The succession of chiefs among the Delaware has not been well or consistently described in the historic accounts. Many different ways of becoming chief have been reported. Lindeström implied that chieftainship was hereditary in an extended family, with the brother of the chief or his sister's son having preference over the son of the chief (218, 219). The chief might name

[1] Hulbert and Schwarze (eds.), "David Zeisberger's History," in *Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications*, XIX, 131-32.

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his successor but the council had to approve his choice (226). 643 Captain Chipps said that the council determined the successor when the chief died, by which he probably meant when he died without naming a successor. On the other hand, he said that all the tribes elected the chief for the others, excluding from the election the tribe for whom the election was held. It may be conjectured that by this he referred to the installation rather than the election of the chief, for such a procedure is out of line with the other accounts of the same period and even the rest of Chipps's own account. Zeisberger's account for the previous period also used the term election for a ceremony described as an installation. Some of the comments of Captain Chipps and Zeisberger also suggest the possibility that it was only the elevation of an ordinary chief to the head chieftainship of one division that was done by the other divisions or tribes (224). This is most likely the true explanation and its acceptance would explain some of the seeming contradictions in the accounts of these two writers. The modern Delaware have no knowledge of the custom, and since in recent years only one chief has been elected for all divisions, there could be no installation by the chiefs of two divisions for the other one.

Two other changes in the fourth period are significant and 643 indicate the almost complete breakdown of the old political 177 organization after continued white contact. These are the non-inheritance of chieftainship and the full participation of the people in the election (216-19, 221).

A reconstruction of the old system would be something very 621 close to the following. The three divisions of the Delaware, 614 Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey, were more or less separated from one another in place of residence and perhaps originally developed from such separation. Even into the nineteenth century certain towns were known as Turtle or Wolf towns. Each of these divisions was subdivided into twelve gentes or subgentes. These were undoubtedly exogamous, and possibly the divisions were also. Chieftainship in the subgentes or in the villages was hereditary in the extended family. Descent was matrilineal; hence, a chief was not succeeded by his son but by a brother, by

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621 a nephew, his sister's son, or sister's daughter's son. The se-
614 lection of a succe sor might be made by an incumbent with the approval of the people. Each of the three divisions had a chief who was chosen by a general council of chiefs and wisemen, possibly with the exclusion of the tribal chiefs and wisemen of the division involved. The installation of the tribal chief was conducted by the head chiefs of the other two divisions.

643 The various sources and informants were unanimous in saying that there was a boundary between the authority of the civil chief and that of the war chief (232). The superiority of the civil chief in peace time was also affirmed by all (233). The reversal of the relative power of each in war was likewise maintained without dissent (234). Power received through visions
[781] was a prerequisite to the office of war chief (237). Captain Pipe's account made no mention of vision power, but his statement of an election similar to that of a civil chief did not preclude this requirement. W. L. stated that a man must have received power through a vision to become eligible for election as a war chief.

623 The existence of a body of wisemen or counselors was reported in every period (238). These men were chosen by the people, according to the information from the third and fourth periods (240). The accounts of the earlier periods did not touch upon this matter. The council or body of wisemen was reported throughout all periods to consider all matters of importance to the tribe (241). The functions of the council were evidently considerable; although called only by the chief, their decision after due deliberation determined the course of action of the chief (238). Women had no voice in council and were only admitted at certain times (243).

Justice

681 According to the idealistic retrospect of W. T., originally, when the Delaware had things their own way, there was no theft, murder, rape, adultery, or any other crime or misdemeanor and hence no punishments or ways of handling such matters were
006 necessary. Since debts were not discussed in detail in the first

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Chiefs

216. Civil chieftainship hereditary

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Captain Chipps said that the brother of a chief, if he behaves well, must be named as chief in preference to the son and that the sister's son also succeeded in preference to his own son, all of which was determined by the council.

E. R. thought that the chieftainship was hereditary but was not certain of the succession.

221. Election of civil chief

Captain Pipe—At the creation of the world the Great Spirit himself resided with the Indians and regulated their intercourse with each other. When he left the earth he told them that he would depute a person possessing all his own virtues, at whose death they should choose a successor having as nearly as possible the same qualifications. Since that period the office of chief has been elective, yet the election is not made by the people. Merit alone ensures to a man this distinguished honour. There is among them a body of men called *Lupwaaeenõãwuk* or Wise Men, (the plural, from *Lupwaaõãkum* wisdom and *Lünnos* a man). These men from their conduct in early life receive the attention and respect of the aged and as they grow in years they gradually assume the power which is attached to the wise men or counselors. At length they are received as members of that powerful body and become officially interested in the proper regulation of national affairs. All civil affairs are conducted and ordered by them and when the office of chief becomes vacant they assemble and in the presence of the *people* they consult together upon the qualifications of the aspirants and having decided they appoint another meeting for his inauguration, to which, as to the first, they invite the nation generally. At the appointed time the *Lupwaaeenõãwuk* together with the elected chief and such spectators as choose to attend, assemble at a grand lodge prepared for the purpose, and one of the body in a speech adapted to the occasion declares to the people their choice and then turning to the chief addresses him on the importance of a firm, independent

643 666 [623]

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643 666 and upright course of conduct, of good examples from the heads of the nation etc. During the speech the speaker holds in his hand a belt of wampum, which he places around the neck of the chief, telling him, "now you have the speech, see that you keep it, and adhere to the advice contained in it."

Captain Chipps said that all the tribes elected the chief for the others, excluding from the election the tribe for whom the election is held. He also said that the principal chief was always from the Wolf tribe, but was elected by the other tribes. In view of his statements that the brother must be chosen over the nephew or son, and the nephew over the son, and that the chief could name his successor, it is possible that here he means the other tribes installed the new chief.

All four modern informants said that the council and the people in joint session elected the new chief.

Zeisberger said the election of a new chief was made by "the captains," by which it may be assumed that he meant the war chiefs.

225. Civil chief can be removed

643 Captain Pipe—As chiefs are elected by the will of the people, in the same manner they are removed from office. Not by direct accusation and trial however, for they are careful not to [571] arraign an individual publicly before the nation whether he be great or low, but by neglecting to invite him to councils or refusal to listen to or execute his orders. This being done by the aged and influential, whose motives are made known at proper times, the neglect becomes general, the people contemn his authority and he is gradually lowered down to the private station, whence he does not attempt to rise but by a long course of good conduct or by some extraordinary effort of genius or political intrigue by which he can overpower his enemies at a single movement.

228. Age of succession of chief

John Johnston—No particular age, it depends on the ability, information and qualifications of the persons.

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CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They cannot be *principal chiefs* until they are 50 years old. 643

J. W.—35 to 40.

W. T.—Formerly, when Delaware lived to age of 300 years, a man had to be 70 to become a chief.

E. R.—Over 25.

W. L.—No particular age.

232. Boundary line between civil and war chief

CAPTAIN PIPE—Formerly the authority of the War and Council chiefs was distinctly defined. To use their expression, in a time of peace the war chief sat in the ashes, but upon the declaration of war the village or council chiefs took his place, and the movements of the war depended solely upon him. At this day however they have equal authority in treaties and the like, that is to say, according to their influence as men.

238. Body of counselors

JOHN JOHNSTON—The Counselors are appointed or chosen by the people according to their merit. Their duty is to assist in any good work that they are doing and to promulgate and cherish order. 623

CAPTAIN PIPE—The ceremonies attending the appointment of chief are practiced also at the reception of one of the wise men into that formidable body, excepting the placing a belt around the neck, which is not used at all. The Lupwaaeenŏăwuk are not restricted to any particular number, but accessions are made of such as merit an admission from the general tenor of their lives. The members of this body, or some one of them as occasion may require, are appointed to carry into effect the orders of the chiefs, and any employment, however degrading, is considered by them an honour under such circumstances. In the distribution of annuities and of presents their services are indispensible, and while young they carry the kettles of the war parties while on the march. 643 666

Unimportant or ordinary occurrences are considered as within the superintendence of the Chiefs without consultation or advice; such as regulating the internal affairs of their villages, settling disputes, etc.; but affairs of consequence are never acted upon

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643 666 without the concurrence of the Lupwaaeenõãwuk, from whom in fact all important transactions emanate. The consultations of these men precede all treaties, declarations of War, etc., and after expressing their opinion as a body each member considers himself individually bound to assist and obey the Chief in the execution of it.

Captain Chipps—There is no particular body of counselors, except the chiefs—they have no stated times of holding councils, and meet only when business requires.

The young men are entitled to sit in Council at the age of 20, and are *then* "their own masters"—they can marry before that period, but are not entitled to the rights and privileges of men until they reach that age.

Councils are seldom called—except on matters relating to war —"the administration of law" is not known. The Council is opened by prayers to the Great Spirit, to give them wisdom. One man is appointed to make speeches, who is to be under the guidance and direction of the chiefs. No others have a right to address the Council—the orator is generally "the smartest man" —"*the best man.*" After the speaker has done, the chiefs make up their decisions,—which are immediately reported to all the people. Prayer closes the proceedings and the Council breaks up. Women are not admitted to the Councils.

J. W.—Council consisted of ten councilors, chief and assistant chief. All were elected by clan (later only for nation) and could be removed. Lately called only for business. Committees were appointed by council for term of two years. Meetings of council every two years. Many committees continued to function past terms if no new council. Speaker was supposed to be the voice of chief and council. (J. W. is now the speaker.) Young men were sometimes admitted to council for training. If council and people could not decide on some matter, the chief had the final voice, it was up to him to determine what the majority seemed to feel.

W. T. said that the council consisted of two chiefs and four other men.

W. L. reported that there were always twelve men elected by the people of the council.